796 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into
535 pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance,
534 in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European
184 origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious
[777] musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

778 Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be
776 mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be repre-
184 sented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken
[794] from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules, on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints;
778 it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual
776 washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The
796 "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

78 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan
[114] elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes
778 do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at
782 Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36]
776 The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for
114 rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

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[34] This image corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the *cruz fiadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 362–374.

[36] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ídolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

756 [swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You
539 won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt
and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my
friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and
shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and
a bull appeared. He was a great *ʔak'čamel* [witch].
[682] He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

756 Such stories of curers "who walk on both
sides" (*šbeʔen ta ča mehč*) are favorites in the
[152] drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of
curers inspires fear, so much so that some of
the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

756 The open competition between curers serves
776 to undermine the faith of the people in their
guardianship function. This function was
believed to have been acquired by the leaders
[133] from the *meʔtiktatik*, the ancestors, who were
said to live in a cave in a hill near the town,
[769] from which came the progenitors of the
present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two
leading curers roamed the streets at night,
when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the
dual division. In this role, the two major
curers were called the *meʔiltatiletik*, a term
derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

178 The loss of faith in the guardianship func-
776 tion of the curers was coincident with the loss
756 of belief in the presence of the meʔtiktatik.
Some deny that the meʔtiktatik live in the cave
769 anymore, and others say they just appear on
[796] the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in
the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was
796 an important event in establishing the guard-
776 ian power of the leader curers, since they were
756 the only ones who dared enter the cave and
talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this
178 belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of
769 the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the
fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the
people" in claiming that they were talking to
the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the
cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part
resulting from verbal attacks by the priest,
who at that time was gaining more power in
[794] the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross
the church and civil officials, the women
[793] prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest,
the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no
178 longer present, even as bystanders. The
756 curers have tried to buttress belief in the
guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that
769 a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a
Ladino, for his responsibilities require a
good knowledge of the Spanish language as
well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the
municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes,
assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
[62] tact with the state authorities. After him
rank the regidor, sindico, alcalde, police
commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the
officially recognized ones, the Indians have
their own government system, which in
most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each
of which is a kind of fraternity under the
supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated
with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are
not geographically determined, and its
members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated
in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 cornales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 sindicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social
duties. This social-service career begins
when the man is not yet married, when he
is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the
church, which means that he has to attend
to minor affairs connected with the church
and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of
capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos
alternate between church positions and civil
government positions, but in communities
where Indian tradition is stressed, there is
no clear-cut division between civil and religious
matters, because of the influence of
the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status,
is made of pine or other fine wood, and
has a silver handle adorned with colored
ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red.
The staff is ornamented by the owner and is
considered a family object, usually placed
[778] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[782] object of prayers and offerings of incense.
People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to communicate
627 to every paraje the orders of the
ayuntamiento and those coming from the
supreme chief of the calpul; to summon
people for communal duties; to apprehend
prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with
public problems such as taxation and epidemics.
Coping with transgressions such as
minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues
are also their responsibility within
the paraje, following the traditional form of
procuring mutual understanding on both
sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved
appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are
called principales or "cabildos de justicia"
even after they have finished their term of
office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred
and are open only to people with superior
knowledge, recognized moral status,
and expert experience in church ritual and
in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in
the caves, waterholes, and special mountains.
These cargos are thus obtained not by
automatic advancement but by special merits
which are usually not acquired until advanced
age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Catholic Cult

177 The beliefs and religious practices intro-
797 duced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th
795 century have been adapted to the aboriginal
795 culture. The largest and most important
778 building of the village is the church, situ-
[346] ated on the east side of the ceremonial cen-
[361] ter. In it are the image of the patron saint
[776] of the group, the holy cross, and lesser
[796] saints. The most profound ceremonies take
[794] place before the altar of these saints, who
are looked upon as mediators between God
and men, and are performed by the cabildos
de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men
of high rank who know both Catholic and
Indian ritual.

346 During the ceremonies the altar is deco-
796 rated with flowers and with paper and rib-
795 bons of different colors. The floor is covered
with pine needles, which give off an agree-
[782] able fragrance. Candles and copal are part
of every prayer and ceremony, the copal
having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 Common prayers of people who visit the
782 center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

[P 221-A]

795 782 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the [778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 778 776 177 The local character of Catholicism is seen in the Masses offered to the mountain called Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic 795 184 776 times. In almost all the municipios the saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

796 794

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

One of the major events in the religious life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost [435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

4 Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Amatenango del Valle

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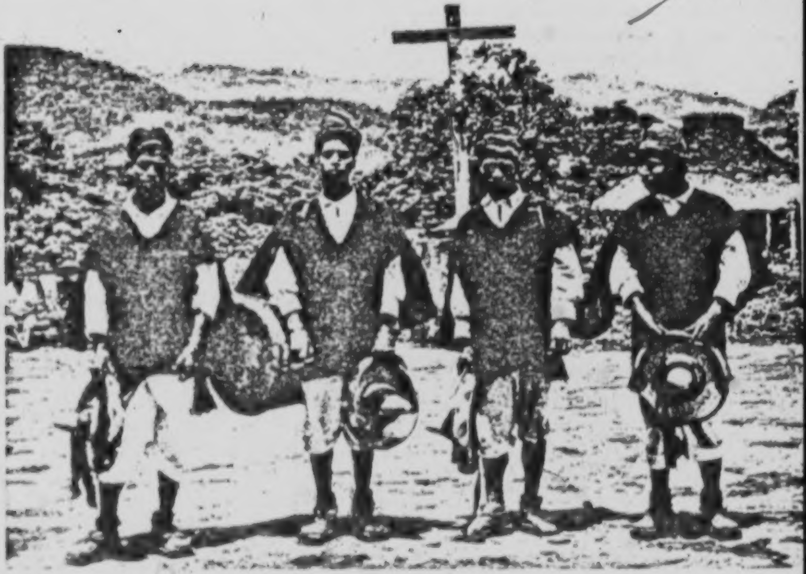

Fig. 7—CARGO OFFICIALS, AMATENANGO DEL VALLE. Note ceremonial hats and drum with which church functions are announced (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 222-A]

753 thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men
776 who occupy or have occupied cargos in the
[794] political or religious organization are sup-
[888] posed to have a nagual, as do the older
[613] members of the lineage. They consider it
their duty to punish those members of the
group who have sinned and use their na-
gual, who can devour the soul of the victim
little by little.

774 According to this idea, everybody has two
776 souls: one which can be eaten by the na-
guales, and one which follows the destiny
that its patron saint has planned for it.
761 When death comes, the naguales take away
775 the first soul and have a banquet up in the
776 mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the
old people of the clan participate, joined by
others induced to comradeship.

761 It is a widespread belief that at midyear
773 the naguales go to a place in heaven called
776 Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses
the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he
keeps account of the time each person can
live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to
death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the
person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead
are buried near the graves of other men of
[184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead
are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P 224-B]

648
the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups 622
already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet 624
cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, 756
have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of 554
prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the 794
fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all prepara- 796
tions and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter
XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, [554]
save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in 756
the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government ap- 621
pointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to 554
all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even 576
though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom,* and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-second and twenty-third of June. [648] By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales,* who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales.* Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea,* in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out.*

The performance continued until late that night and began again 796
the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the
chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The [794]
caporales led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites 771
and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both 172
saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and 178
British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform 171
to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints be- 776
side the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking [171]
Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full 126
text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily 782
meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a
use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it 196
may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the [539]
blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. 771
At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost 178
efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 177

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*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any
302 decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

Fig. [illegible]—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression
794 to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile,
346 and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with
[291] tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted
796 prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom.
[417] There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 328) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches,
[273] and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

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	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNARYOS/ /K-AL+SNARYOS/	x	x	*	–

608 851 1194 602 Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

585 608 601 602 The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

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621 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms [641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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794 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

571
554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192
794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/	"mayordomo of Todos Santos"
/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/	"mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/	"mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/	"mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/	"1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/	"2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571
554 day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held
192 responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before
[794] he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent--
[602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother."
571 Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age:
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561 /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female refer-
192 ent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating
[562] younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* 621 554 [2] The positions of president of education and ejido commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet) in the civil hierarchy.

273* 796 794 554 semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 • 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call differential rank. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* 621 794 554 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 554 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzoˀontahal was made in four field sessions, 114
the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of 101
eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each re- 123
turning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and ex-
periences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an out-
sider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of 128
the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These in- 178
cluded the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the 794
officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community 756
status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who 627
had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of
age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my
study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing
my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of
Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made 122
possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax,
who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a
locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruc-
tion in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the lan-
guage, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formula-
tions of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane
Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and
facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the sum-
mer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Na- 123
cional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip,
introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquar-
ters in Las Casas.

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The au- 177
thority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community 178
is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institu- [627]
tions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the reli- [794]
gious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral [776]
figures has been undermined. [769]

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of [623]
the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I [756]
first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behav- 128
ior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)
2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention 621
in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area. [174]

The Indians of Tzoʾontahal state that the dividing line of the division 173
was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the 621
first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of ra- 582
cial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they 621
are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, 551
although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. 681
Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been 178
eroded, but some survive. 62 Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico,* his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in 621
Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to 178
the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in 161
population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of 794
equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, [423]
those of the four *alfereces.* Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

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[4] Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

621
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161

held that post formerly, and all four alfereces were for the first time taken from one side.

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TABLE 2. Patronyms in the Dual Division

Patronym	*Alannantiḳ only*	*Ahḳ'olnantiḳ only*	*Alannantiḳ and Ahḳ'olnantiḳ*
Alvarez			37
Arguella Jimenez	1		
Bautista		1	
Bautista Čail			52
Bautista Čo		5	
Bautista Koʔton			14
Bautista Saʔben			20
Cepeda			1
Cepeda Čilol			29
Cruz Mendez	1		
Diaz			6
Diaz Čamo			5
Diaz Ton			8
Diaz Uz			42
Gomez		2	
Gomez Bot			39
Gomez Kompaš			73
Gomez Kut			49
Gomez Waris	1		
Gonzalez	1		
Gonzalez Ikob		3	
Guitierrez	1		
Hernandez	1		
Hernandez Čela	1		
Hernandez Tenan	4	1	
Jimenez		2	
Leon		2	
Leon Či			21
Leon Čulik			14
Leon Malatz	2		
Lopez			1
Lopez Lab'	1		
Lopez Lin			31
Lopez Mai	11		
Lopez Pokoš		13	
Lopez Tapiya		5	
Lopez Šuntón		18	

The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos 796
[*religious officials*], *the prayer reciters, and the people of the village.* 769
When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd [794]
rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go [778]
inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles [756]
which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.

Then one year [*in 1957*] *during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went* 796
into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." 769
The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited 756
and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, 781
saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered 178
twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alfer- [794]
eces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good 776
relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

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[9] A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964). [773] [171]

434 and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of
291 that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered infe-
[439] rior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of
coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound
291 with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn
by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven
shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the
waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or
during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear
high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while
younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rub-
ber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking
[177] on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers,
shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring
towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the
boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress,
but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their
[177] teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zip-
pered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw
[292] hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna
bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned
[794] palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter of-
[292] fice, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make
[178] them.

291 The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of accultura-
177 tion. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the
ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some
time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of con-
sumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has
not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

231 tion or when the animal is sick. For ceremonial occasions, the assistant of 796 one of the mayordomos is expected to kill the bull which will provide the • [194] meat for a common meal. On other occasions, someone who is known to have a hand which gives flavor to the meat is asked to do it. The owner of [465] the animal gives the butcher a half-liter of liquor.

232 Caponizing is a skill learned by some men with a few head of cattle by watching someone who knows how to perform the operation. If a man's [843] wife is pregnant, he cannot perform the operation himself or even approach the bull, since his glance is very hot and will cause the bull to die. The procedure for making the request and for performing the operation is described below:

The owner goes to speak to one who knows how to caponize. When he arrives at the house of the caponizer, he says, "Are you in, Mam Gomez?" "I am," he replies if he is in. "Come in and sit down," he says.

"Pardon me, I have come to speak to you. Please, for the sake of the Virgin and for the sake of God, will you do nothing more than take out the little scrotum of my bull tomorrow?"

"Yes," replies the caponizer. "Do not worry, I shall take it out tomorrow."

"Good," replies the owner. "I shall wait for you in the house."

The next morning, the caponizer comes. The owner gives him some coffee to drink with a little bread. After they drink, they go to the hills to find the bull. They bring him to a wooded place and tie him by his hind legs to a branch of a tree. They then cast the body on the ground and tie the forelegs to the hind legs with a leather strap. They tie a string around the scrotum and sever the testes. After this, they drink a little. The owner's family joins them. The men blow up the scrotum to make a ball and the children play with it. They cut up the testes and broil them in a pan on the fire. After this is cooked, they pass it out to all of the people present with a tortilla and salt. Two liters of liquor are served. After the common meal, everyone goes to the house of the owner, and there they have a meal of chicken soup with two more liters of liquor. Those who do not drink liquor are served soda.

Very early the next day, the owner goes to see if his bull has died. If he

phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca 159
to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn 472
when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay 621
for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three 45
months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 159
1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge 472
of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the 621
former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut 794
down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him 45
occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by
the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a [623]
general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, 159 472
storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck 621
cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl- 45

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *muʔ*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al,* while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *haʔwan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as muʔ and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as haʔwan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat niʔal* and *meʔ niʔal* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *ķalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives

	Collateral	Lineal		Collateral
+1		Nial Tat	Nial Meʔ	
	Bal	(Hmamlal) Kinam		Muʔ
−1	Kihts'in			

Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

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The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alniʔal,* using the combined terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

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Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms *yermanotaķ, ķumparetaķ,* and *bersinataķ*. The yermanotak is comprised of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

608 members of the meˀiltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the meˀiltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his meˀiltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his meˀiltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the meˀiltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the meˀiltatil of the household and the meˀiltatil
of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *winehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
• 794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who
know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done
in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the
younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker
greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756. in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as meˀiltatil.

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 608
compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of 571
marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of bap- [852]
tism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of [585]
76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over
50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referen-
tial and vocative terms, *ḳumpare* and *ḳumare,* or compadre and comrade in
Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is
expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter
has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will
serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household cer- [852]
emony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the [788]
kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting [794]
as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremo-
nials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institu- [592]
tion establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called mali-
wanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the 852
tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of 608
their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism 571
ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by
his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together
with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the
priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a
girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him,
baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in
front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to
the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ri-
tual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

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[1] This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the smeʔispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. 764
Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If
the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina.
One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes [794]
along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the
maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant
relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they
walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of
kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only
when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and
just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who [794]
holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a
geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds
a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down [608]
near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened
prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If
they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium.
When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin [766]
and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the
grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of
returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in [608]
water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into
the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men,
breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not
lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered
when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry
before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel [273]
dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites
the patʔoʔtan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured
in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave
soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to 761
see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to 627
be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person 753

756 sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They
731 privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness.
[827] At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing
was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually
one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

756 The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing
796 rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by
778 an informant:

789
769 *When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and*
[794] *June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the meʔtiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the meʔtiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.

178 There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the
769 present curers could speak to them if they did.
756 The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are re-
756 sponsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older
754 informant.
[778]

[774] *The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people*
who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials[*]

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Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)
- First Judge, Alannantik
- Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik
- Assistant Judge, La Grandeza
- Assistant Judge, Madronal

Regidores (Rehiroletik)
- First Regidor
- Second Regidor
- Third Regidor
- Fourth Regidor

Policemen (Mayoletik)
- 2 First Police
- 2 Second Police
- 2 Third Police
- 2 Fourth Police
- 2 Last Police

Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
- Cofrade of Sacramento
- Cofrade of Santa Lucía
- Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
- Cofrade of San Francisco

Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
- Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
- Mayordomo of San Antonio
- Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
- Mayordomo of San José
- Mayordomo of Santiago

Alfereces[†] (Alperesetik)
- First Past Alférez
- Remains Past Alférez
- Second Past Alférez
- New Alférez

Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
- Assistant to Sacramento
- Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía

Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nič'aniletik)

[*] Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

[†] Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance). 621 171

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzoʔontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices. 128 621. 794

THE MATRIX OF ROLES

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzoʔontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik. 621 561

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements [693]

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[1] Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the 621
new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any 561
position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this [693]
post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the
first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves
with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in [625]
five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series
except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huˀeletik*, those who are "able" 621
(in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a [192]
high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in
the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and [212]
síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak [191]
fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a [177]
few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for [178]
these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary [464]
which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post [563]
which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by [178]
preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The
present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoˀontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and reli- 794
gious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

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[2] Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the [555]
homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and
release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of [212]
literacy is broken.

794 tween civil and religious authorities. They are in charge of the fiestas for the saints whom they represent: San Francisco, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and Sacramento. The internal ranking of this set of officials is based on time of entry. This varies in the annual cycle since the new alférez enters just before the fiesta for which he will be responsible. He will be expected to give deference to the three who have preceded him during [192] the year. The terms applied to this fluctuating ranking system in order of highest to lowest are ***hilon ta pasaro*** (remains as past), ***pasaro*** (past official), ***sčebal ʔač' ʔalperes*** (second new alférez), and ***ʔač' ʔalperes*** (new alférez).

794 562 Outside of the traditional religious hierarchy are roles performed by functionaries on the basis of specific skills. These include the fiscal, assistant to the priest, and the *meʔeletik*, women who serve as prayer-reciters. The fiscal takes orders from the priest when the latter is in town, and in the absence of the priest he directs the activities of the mayordomos within the church. He is chosen on the basis of his knowledge of Spanish and willingness to perform the priests' bidding. He remains in office as long as he wishes, or until he is forcibly retired by the priest or by the mayordomos. When retired, he has an ex officio role saying prayers at funerals, and is often called upon for house ceremonies and as godfather in baptisms. The retired fiscales attend mass more often than the rest of the townspeople and sit in the front near the altar. The prayer-reciters are usually widowed or single women of the town whom the lay sisters have organized as support in responding to the catechism.

621 794 The officials who have served in five posts in the civil hierarchy and six posts in the religious hierarchy become *pasaroetik*, the Tzeltal rendering [192] of *pasados* or former officials. Any one of these men may be eligible to serve as one of two principales, one chosen from Alannantik and one from Ahk'olnantik. They remain in office until they are too old to serve or until death. Each of the outlying barrios has two principales chosen from among men who have served in office.

ENTRY INTO AND EXIT FROM OFFICE

621 The constitution assures local autonomy in the election of civil officials.
666 The officials of Tzoʔontahal, including the two principales, president,

621 666 síndico, four regidores, ten policemen, four judges, and the "signers" meet in the town hall on the twentieth of November. Except for the post of president, which is now a contested position, each incumbent names his own successor. The president opens the meeting with an address to the principales, saying, "Now, *Mamal* Principales, whom will we name to leave in power in the town hall to pass the year?" The principales reply with the question to each officer: "Whom have you thought of naming?"

Each officer gives a name, which is written down by the secretary. When the officials have heard who will be the new officials, the first judge speaks with the principales and the "signers" using the formal speech of the pat?o?tan to ask permission to serve the "gift" of trago. Eight days later an assembly of all the male household heads takes place. The president announces the names of the nominated officials in Tzeltal and the secretary announces them in Spanish. The president asks for a show of hands of all those who support the nominations. If the man who is named does not want to take the office, he may request withdrawal of his name. The president accepts refusal by all nominees for civil posts if there is adequate excuse.

621 561 The great majority of men begin their careers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Only seventeen men, or 5 percent of the 311 household heads censused (Table 24), had reached the age of thirty without serving in any office. Among men fifty and over, only two men had not filled any religious post (Table 25), and all had served in some civil post.

621 794 There are two major channels of mobility in the civil hierarchy. The more common course is for a young married man to enter as a policeman, either at the third or fourth level. Next, he will again be named as policeman, or possibly third or fourth regidor, if he is a poor man and has little hope of rising to the higher posts. If the man or his father is well off, he will be asked to serve as alférez. The appointment may be made with or without prior service in the civil or religious hierarchy, and the main prerequisite is having sufficient money to pay for the expenses. Once he fills this post, he will be eligible for first or second regidor since he will have learned the major speeches required in ritual gatherings. Formerly he took on at this point the post of assistant judge. These positions are now assigned to incumbents from the outlying barrios, and the number of posts a man in the center must fill in order to become a pasado has been reduced

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(Civil)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Police (1 term)*	*Police (2 terms)*	*Sindico*	*Sindico, police*	*Police, regidor*	*Police, regidor, judge*	*Police, regidor, judge (2 terms)*	*Police, sindico, president*	*Sindico, president*	*President*	*Unknown*
19	2											
20	20	3										
21	6											
22	11	1										
23	1	2										
24	7											
25	19	2										
26	6	1										
27	1	2										
28	11	5										
29	1	2										
30	6	6		2								
31	2											
32	5	1		2								
33		2										
34		2		1								
35	6	9	2		1	1						
36	1	5			1	3						

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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37	1	1										
38	1	9	2	2		1						
39	2	2	1									
40		4				3	1	1				
41	1	3						1				
42	1	2				2			1	2	1	
43	1	2	1	1		1						
44	2			1	3							
45	2	4			1	10	1		1		1	1
46						3						
48	3	1			1						1	
50						4	1					
52						1						
54								2				
55						7			1			
56						1						
58		1						1				
60		1			1	1	3	5			1	
62						1						
65						3		3	1	1		
70								1			1	
75						1						
78										1		
79							1					
80								2			1	
85								1				
88								1				

[p.168]

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TABLE 24. Civil and Religious Careers of Household Heads

(Religious)

Age of household head	*No office*	*Ničʼnal (1 term)*	*Ničʼnal (2 terms)*	*Aliʔbal, ničʼnal*	*Ničʼnal, tatil*	*Ničʼnal, aliʔbal, tatil*	*Ničʼnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms)*	*Ničʼnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria*	*Ničʼnal, aliʔbal, tatil (2 terms), kobraria (2 terms)*	*Fiscal*	*Unknown*
19	2										
20	18	5									
21	6										
22	11	1									
23	1	11	1								
24	5	2									
25	11	10									
26	3	3		1							
27	1	2									
28	16	9	1								
29	2	1									
30	2	9	1	1	1						
31	2										
32	2	5		1							
33				1	1						
34		3									
35	3	11	2	1	1	1					
36	1	4		3	1	1					

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[P.169]

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37	2										
38	1	8	2	1	1	2					
39	1	2		2							
40		2		1		2	2		2		
41			1		1	3					
42		1	2	1	2	3					
43		1		1	1	3					
44	1			5							
45	2	3	1	5	2	2	3		1	2	1
46					2	1					
48	1	1		3			1				
50						4	1				
52						1					
54						1			1		
55					5	1	1		1		
56					1						
58				1		1					
60	1			1		5		2	3		
62					1						
65				1		2	1	1	2		
70		1						1			
75										1	
78											1
79								1			
80		1							2		
85									1		
88									1		

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	*Wealth*		*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
	Land in hectares	*Head of cattle*		
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	*Wealth*		*No. of civil offices*	*No. of religious offices*
	Land in hectares	*Head of cattle*		
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

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from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly. 621 794

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the [212] course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative [91] course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president [423] and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nič'nal* or junior mayordomo, 794 then serves as *ʔaliʔbal,* or assistant, next as *tatil,* or elder mayordomo [192] of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *ḳobraria,* or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzoˀontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. 794
When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman 796
with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. 556
They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. [666]
In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a [273]
drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the
officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required
to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez [697]
was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think [689]
it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the 794
jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other 556
posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason 621
given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and
therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in
recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik.
Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid
rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik.
This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of
alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned [114]
to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

THE FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL OFFICIALS

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials 128
must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed 621
by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825)[3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

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[3] I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sniʔik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.*

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [Chapter 9]. The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

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[554]

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession: The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

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[4] The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

621
527 *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[788]
[554] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the*
[794] *mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the*
[782] *altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

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527
273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the patʔoʔtan. After the spatbeyoʔtan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794
527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

794
527

San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyoʔtan. Then he goes on to speak to the meʔil k'op, or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the meʔc'ukušaʔil, "woman who nursed us."

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

[292]
[262]

After another mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in 794
the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are 527
laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the
women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: [273]
"God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water [782]
of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that [539]
which is the gift of the meʔtiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and
b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your
body from the meʔtiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is
three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name
of God the father. God, take the gift, meʔeltatel."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of [273]
the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of
the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they
have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the
church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries.
As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos:
"May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the
church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the
fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face
of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when
you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give
the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who
have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos.
Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos [533]
enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together,
and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

794 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayor-*
527 *domo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the cruci-*
[188] *fied Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordo-*
mos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each may-
ordomo. The nič'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the can-
dles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his
[273] *house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the*
Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos*
go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the
morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leav-
[533] *ing three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of*
the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Vir-
gin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from
[454] *the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is*
now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of
228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises
the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the
patʔoʔtan is recited and drinks are served.

621 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the
554 structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see
in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a
smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the
alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and
sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its
internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the
mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which
they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first
position of each category. They command their group or the group
immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get
liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to
get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and group-
ing by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the seg-
ments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later. 621 554

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the patˀoˀtan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo." 621 794 527

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and školtawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the patˀoˀtan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*meʔbaʔal, woķol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltiķ ķač'aletiķ:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuķ shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yoķ' sapil sķ'aab ķ'a santuetiķ ķ'a peroltiķ:* the washings [192]

621 794 527 of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives [192] a sacred quality to the words.

[273] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[273] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining 621
the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal support- 794
ers in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Span- 527
ish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems.

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of be- 621
havior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition 794
of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expecta- 527
tions which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanchetik, who are 177
the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage di- 178
rectors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors.

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old 621
officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the 794
new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of 527
the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly empha- 178
sized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the

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[5] Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference. [171]

621
794 newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of
527 the higher officials.

178 Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved
621 in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking,
794 these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully mea-
527 sured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it
273 of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy.
Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the
[192] Tzeltal loan term *ʔaḵsion*, from the Spanish *acción*, the pretended act,
which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

621 Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affect-
794 ing the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on
561 the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of
177 the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in car-
178 rying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

621
The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual divi- 794 ●
sion is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective 561
again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper divi- 177
sion meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily 178
from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate 794
people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was 554
that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to 434
spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. 796
They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in 754
loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show 178
of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited [556]
the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the 621
traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is 554
one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn 178
of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are
placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, how- [273]
ever, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

Chapter 8

Taking Care of the Lord Spirits

Religious behavior is concerned with two major goals: maintaining a 771
given state of prosperity and protecting the community against disaster. In [776]
the words of one informant: "All of the goods which we enjoy—the corn,
beans, and wheat that we eat, the animals which work for us and give us
food—are the gifts of the Lord spirits." The technique for maintaining the [196]
flow of goods of the world is the annual cycle of fiestas for the saints. The [776]
strategy for protecting the community against disaster is through avoid- [782]
ance of offense and special offerings to the gods identified with pre-his- [178]
panic deities and spirits. Responsibility for the ceremonial cycle is assigned [794]
to officials who represent the community, but everyone is responsible for [784]
the avoidance of disaster, since any transgression of moral behavior by an
individual can cause their wrath and bring destruction of crops and animals. The protective rituals involve beliefs continuous from pre-hispanic
times; maintenance depends on Catholic saints.

KINDS OF LORD SPIRITS

776
Religious behavior is based on an understanding of the personality and
rank of each deity in a hierarchy of power. The people distinguish two
major categories of gods: the lord spirits of the heaven, *č'ultatiḳ ta
č'ulčan,* and the lord spirits of the church, *č'ultatiḳ ta č'ulna*. The prefix [193]
č'ul in all of these terms can be translated as spirit. All growing things—
people, plants, and animals—have a spirit. *Tatiḳ* can be translated as our [192]
lords, elders, or fathers. The categories of spirits discussed here differ from [193]
the č'uleletik (Chapter 1) since these are spirits possessed by the place in
which they dwell, as indicated by the possessive form of the noun with the
prefix *s*.

I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then re- 821
ferred back to the story of K'oš, the younger brother who took over the 776
task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started.

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to 776
those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the up- 794
keep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed 796
representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the commun- 821
ity; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible 177
at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought.

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give 776
them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These 794
fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called 796
kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the 177
Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week.

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the 796
Catholic calendar. In Tzoˀontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, [805]
even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neigh- [178]
boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. [171]

796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or		Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	May 6	Tatik San Migel
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Nov. 29	Santuʔ	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
Dec. 13	Meʔtik Santa Luciá	July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Meʔtik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Meʔtik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Meʔtik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [788] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. [794] Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles,* who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

796 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an
539 identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story
273 is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people
from their fears.

796 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the
794 elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and re-
[562] ceives the visitors with the patʔoʔtan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and
[534] a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta
178 cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

more and more resistance from those named to undertake the post. Finally, in 1966 the officials were able to recruit only from the growing division of Ahk'olnantik. There had always been two representatives from each side in the past, and the role was a symbol of the division and of its unity in ceremonial occasions. I predicted at that time that the institution would not survive because the imbalance in representation destroyed the structural premises of the role. When I returned for a brief visit in 1967 I was told that indeed 1966 was the last year the alfereces were inaugurated and that the institution had died. I would expect this to further weaken the structural opposition of the dual division. This case of structural breakdown is a good example of the behavioral feedback one can analyze with an equilibrium model of change. The following description of the fiesta is based on an inauguration I witnessed in 1965.

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Formerly, the role of alférez involved both civil and religious functions. At the time that I observed the institution in action, it provided the ceremonial link between the civil and the religious hierarchies, but the duties of the alfereces were only ceremonial. In the words of one informant, their function was "to put on a good fiesta, to drink, and to dance, and to bear the sacred banners in processions."

The alférez was chosen by the four judges and the four regidores with the help of the president and the síndico. About two months before the installation of a new alférez, which occurred during the fiesta for the one of the four saints with which he was associated, the civil officers sent out the first policeman and the martomorey, or elder policeman, to bring in the appointed alférez. The martomorey greeted the alférez with the patʔoʔtan, and the appointment was made known. The standard response of the chosen alférez was, "I don't want it. I have no money. I cannot bear it [the post]." The martomorey and first policeman said, "Good, we shall return another day." On their return, if the nominee still refused to accept the post, they brought him to the jail, where they left him for two or three days before bringing him before the civil officials. There they "took his heart" to see if he would accept. A fairly standardized conversation ensued:

Nominee: "I do not want it; I cannot bear it."

794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] *[All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.]*

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the patʔoʔtan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the patʔoʔtan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already 794
served as alférez. 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the* 794
neighboring Ladino town of Himšol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half 796
a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; [43]
and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of* [273]
his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using [429]
brown cane sugar.

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased* 794
or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of 796
boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 43 [291]
pesos.

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. [426] *To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts.*

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the* 794
fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was ini- 796
tiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal (*literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"*), *the women of* [252]
the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his [262]
wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the

794 *bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The*
796 *floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.*

[252] *At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and*
[262] *principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.*

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the patʔoʔtan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

794 *All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bi-*
796 *laterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compa-*
574 *dres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon*
602 *at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-*

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of 796
their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for [574]
these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the [602]
liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the [273]
guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wiľpereľ). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of*
the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman
speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the [533]
woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the
guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, [535]
the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his
new clothing, and reviewed the patʔoʔtan with the nakawanehetik who
had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions.
First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane [262]
of the third alférez with the patʔoʔtan, and was invited to sit
down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The
third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a
turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions.
The assembled group went to the cabildo.

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

794 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and pre-*
796 *pared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission*
796 *of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of*
535 *performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the*
562 *"afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event be-*
cause the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and
[626] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal,*
[154] *had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] > *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their 794
stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. 796
Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they 535
were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around 562
with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking.

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the 794
nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. 796
Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely [522]
indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but [276]
they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee [562]
was served. [262]

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the patʔoʔtan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the patʔoʔtan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the patʔoʔtan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the patʔoʔtan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above.* [788] *The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally 794
to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez 796
took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the
rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The
dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing
the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for
permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was
said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding."
He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations
of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in
terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any
other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible
for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings.
Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite
the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the
post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life.

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio
of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the
office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing
out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing
was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at
the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not
have as many nakewanehetik. All these components combined to give the
office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of [554]
the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor
(money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling
down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those
nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a
quicker demise.

OTHER FIESTAS

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

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[273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

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> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

> *mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here* 794
> *before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where* 796
> *others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy* 539
> *alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you,*
> *the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his*
> *godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper,*
> *the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we*
> *gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the*
> *holy alisit with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of* [273]
> *your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.*

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the 794
same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank 796
some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by [273]
the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this,
they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of
the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of 794
horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind 796
the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight 526
horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance [621]
in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each
year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race,
the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo.
As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in [533]
the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink
another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end [273]
of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as [276]
the patʔoʔtan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous*
day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces
dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter [273]
of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed
alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table
among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and

794 *the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the*
796 *visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly ap-*
526 *pointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."*

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the
[788] *church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the*
[533] *plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.*

[426] *The final day, called* Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

178 Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is
231 given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in
526 this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in
[796] 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to
[492] market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the
[273] drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

128 The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

796 154 [273] [276] [522] is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrassment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cigarettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal restraints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 522 177 178 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas. They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 262 794 177 178 [731] Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobraria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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Monday: Nothing

Tuesday: Nothing

Wednesday: All the mayordomos gather at the church. Some go to carry wood for the cross while others look for flowers to make a "bed" for Jesus, Tatik Eskipulas, *to lay Him on after he has been crucified. The mayordomos arrange the table on which he will lie very beautifully. They tie boughs of evergreen on all four sides. Some of the flowers [a small variety* [824] *of orchid which was possibly of some importance in pre-Catholic rituals] are very fragrant. When all is arranged well, they take out a box so that Tatik Eskipulas can lie where the flowers and branches are. They put this table at the foot of the cross. After the mayordomos have "planted" the cross, they adorn it with pine boughs. They put flowers on each arm of the holy cross. Then they drape it with the holy cloth* [the purple banner]. [533] *At eleven o'clock some of the mayordomos begin to play the coronet, matraka, flute, and drum. Tatik Eskipulas arrives at the cross with the male and female prayer-maker.*

Thursday: Half of us finish making the cross, and the other half arrange the "prison" inside the church where Tatik Eskipulas will spend the night. After we make the prison, we make the Jew. We look for his pants and shoes, his hat and his tie, his mask, his gourd, his bag, his shirt, his cigarette. After we arrange him, we raise him with a rope in front of the church, and leave him hanging for the pueblo to see who killed Christ. Meanwhile, others put Tatik Eskipulas in prison. When night time arrives, four men with rifles watch Tatik Eskipulas to guard Him as the holy evening passes. The mayordomos gather at the church and play the [533) *sad flute and the old coronet. They play the matraka. At midnight they play the drum and coronet.*

Friday: Very early in the morning of Friday, the four guards of God are changed as the dawn enters. All day, the guards will watch the Lord. They will see Him rise on the cross and descend from the cross. Then the four go to their house to drink a little liquor. At eleven o'clock in the morning the mayordomos will give a sign on the elder coronet, the elder [533] *matrake, and the sad flute and the drum. They will play three times to* [202] *summon the townspeople instead of sounding the bell. When all the women and men arrive, they hear the prayer announcing that Tatik Eski-*

794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad*
flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect
and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the*
priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who
will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how*
to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the
old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to*
their homes.

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a
prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear*
mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [*the curers*] *give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or
[262] *rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and*
because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.

796 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the
182 bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on
829 the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long
poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?čunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege.
[794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people.
[756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transaction
[754] may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of
their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramati-
[793] cally vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is
unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambiva-
776 lent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is
182 that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a
829 Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the
[181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in
[782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day,
[175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[212] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[191] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in
[756] the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

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621

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of 794 •
the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements 578
given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people inter- 177
pret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring. 178
[128]

THE CONFLICT AMONG CIVIL OFFICIALS

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in 621
determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been 555
that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external 212
authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these 177
skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and 178
read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and
Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses
taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s.
Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín
used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino
was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The 159
civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and 212
succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as 621
scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

> *After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil author-*
> *ity changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom* [624]
> *then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift*
> *for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we* [273]
> *finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.*

CONFLICT AMONG RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONARIES

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional 578
religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership 794
in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of 793
the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzoʔontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained
increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters [794]
who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters.

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual
leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to [797]
the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he [278]
makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the [751]
people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs.
In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American [797]
Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area.

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade 578
in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following 793
incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift 794
in control in these domains: 273

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

578 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the*
793 *priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later an-*
794 *nounced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did*
273 *not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen*
[465] *pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the do-
794 nation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated
178 to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even
793 more severe censure:
776

626 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes*
578 *of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold*
178 *paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. 793 794
These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. 578
Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young 178
leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over 626
the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in
getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's 793
brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he 794
had with the priest: 578

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres *[lay sisters] know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [the fiscal] was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. [829]
They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

[212] [191] 794 *The fiscal.* As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] [554] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

In 1912, Bernardo was fiscal. He knew how to pray well. About nine in the morning, the girls [prayer-reciters] gathered in the church and heard prayer in common. Then he borrowed money from the church and did not return it. He left for the finca with his father and three men. His wife went with her children. He fled because he didn't have the money, and he never returned. He sold his house in town to buy food. He died there in the finca. The girls remembered him because he was a friend, and they bought a candle for twenty cents. 794 782

Another fiscal, Antonio, began to give prayers to the same girls who accompanied him. He knew how to pray very well, and he prayed each Sunday. Then he died.

Then Carlos passed as fiscal. He knew how to pray from memory. The same girls learned, and all sang the prayer. Then that fiscal sold the tablecloths; he sold the candle holders; he sold everything. Therefore the cofrades did not want him. They said, "Go away because you are not good." God was going to punish him because he sold everything in the church.

In 1929 the pueblo named Ceferino [the informant, who refers to himself in the third person]. He served until he was made president in 1937.

In 1938, Antonio was chosen by the pueblo, but soon they did not want him because he was always ordering the pueblo to do work. He charged a lot for the fiestas, but he did not buy firecrackers or clothing for the saints. In a mass meeting they asked him to leave.

In 1939 Miguel put himself in office. The pueblo did not choose him. He did not know how to pray. He knew a little by memory because he heard what Antonio had said in his prayers, but he did not know the catechism. He didn't want to leave the church, but the pueblo spoke much against him.

The padre was against Miguel because he had begun to take advantage of the trips with the priest to sell the contraband liquor that he distilled. Some maintain that it was during his period as fiscal that the power shifted from the cofrades to the priest. He was accused of stealing the money donated to the saint, a sum of about 300 pesos. Although the money was returned, he is still considered guilty. 794 [793] [685]

Miguel's successor, the present incumbent Pablo, served as president while he was fiscal. [622]

794 while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the do-
793 nation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him
of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of
[685] these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is
the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of
the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Sec-
[178] ond, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and
the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the
role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they
chose a man who knew the pat⁾o⁾tan and who was to deal directly with
the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the
cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man.
793 If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems
794 with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out
578 of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to im-
prove the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

621 In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following
177 observations can be made on the basis of the events described.
178

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate
[212] men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their
[609] skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the
town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on
guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed
economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[793] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the
church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
621 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of
the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given 581
more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distin- 582
guish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks
heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means [593]
that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are 794
filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. 592
The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-ex- 782
tended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in reli- 555
gious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they 561
know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A [273]
man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The meʔil k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles 621
in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships 593
between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the 561
curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" 794
(*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nič'nal Martoma*). A 192
man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior
post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a [756]
recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ʔuʔul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nič'nal ʔuʔul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ʔuʔul*).
The term *meʔil* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference 621
to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of 592
meʔil k'op (woman speaker) and meʔil č'om (mother of the betrothal). 562

621
593 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be
581 undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest
794 posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for re-
556 cruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during
434 their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the
554 official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on in-
756 nate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests
[278] more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are con-
241 sciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder
[857] brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with
[883] them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents
[871] express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoˀontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate 682 683
by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table
29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son- 593
in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are 606
expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their 578
children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The [584] [425]
scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from 152
envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the 156
"limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 178
1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not 556
a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive 754
awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel
themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to
the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new [474]
leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in [685]
the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises 177
have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and con- 178
trol. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on 554
the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital 621
invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the
enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world
has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the
basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the
same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated
higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of [556]
wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also [794]
failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and [754]
in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to
witchcraft aroused by envy.

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in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

> *The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.*

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Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

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Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

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Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

> *Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.*

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

> *And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.*

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431
The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who 693
feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, 695
regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbe- [593]
havior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not
limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to
how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business 621
requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take [344]
their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jack- [516]
ets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the [826]
presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social con-
trol, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers
that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. 621
Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino of- 692
ficials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president 631
will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they
cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has
been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal govern-
ment began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and
accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts
were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in
72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in
which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are ad-
equately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental
records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against [674]
persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the break- [182]
down in social control processes.

THE CHURCH 346

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the [794]
tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from house-
hold heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of [821]
the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with [796]
their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

The townspeople feel that they own the 346
church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes 793
two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, 794
however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the 177
church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a 178
prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church.

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as 346
they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the 526
church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the 788
floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect. [514]

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized 621
in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo 794
during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale 182
[illegible]e other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains.

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic of- 346
ferings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of 796
ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the
crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direc- [794]
tion of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles.

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The [562]
men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the
women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar [563]
are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sis- [794]
ters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass.

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where 346
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346
776 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix
782 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the glass with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by paying for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre-
571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and
562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

THE SCHOOL

346 Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assist-
621 ance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather
875 than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained uninte-
[177] grated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there
[178] was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication.
Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading,
[875] writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The
teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each
day.

877 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games
524 except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers.
There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights,
that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a
half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian
children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a
greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

571 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activi-
561 ties, the following features emerge:

554 1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger.
[562] In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order co-
[621] ordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power
is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not
[794] been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships
between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking
system (Chapter 8).

571 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is re-
554 flected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous
576 behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction
is predominant in the school, where order and control are based
on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive 181
structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting [805]
and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people [571]
can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior
to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in 181
the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial 177
activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which 178
has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have [796]
refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time [794]
and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was
abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, [871]
or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus 181
and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as 177
importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and 178
they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla 462
press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to 823
adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks. [252]

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist 181 796
remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the 771
tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck 776
again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community 821
relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" 182
occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging [789]
metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes 156
the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's 771
own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as 755
his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of 182
their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational 621
changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The 794
alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the 177
lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido 178
Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not 621
in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations 578
are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions 177
and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a 178
contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

628 621 423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to cultivate within the confines of his own village lands.

621 423 166 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621 794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the *Ayuntamiento* (or civil body) and the *Mayordomias* (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The *Ayuntamiento* deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

46

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
692 solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
351 Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
363
491 roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
409
344 jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
754 witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
626 wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621
423 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
432 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
434 expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621 Many cases of adultery never go outside the fences of the
627 sitio, and many witchcraft cases come to the Ayuntamiento only
after a murder has been committed in "revenge," in which case the
Ayuntamiento is only called in to re-establish order and calm down
the relatives of the deceased, trying to avoid further revenge
and bloodshed.

•794 The Mayordomos, on the other hand, have no control over
776 the household Saints which are "owned" by each family and kept in
the house in a special altar, nor do they relate directly, within
the Church organization, to the many supernatural beings which
populate the belief system of the villagers. The "owners of the
hills," spirits which inhabit the caves, rivers and wells, the
mythological creatures such as the Sombrerón (frightening ghost
which appears to tempt people in isolated spots) or Juan Lopez (the
local culture hero), and the evil and powerful souls of witches
794 are in a separate domain. These can be controlled only by the
624
774 curanderos, who have powerful souls, or by the principales. This
776 last group (principales) is also "in charge" of taking care of
the health of the village, and do so by having their own souls
patrol the boundaries of the community at night and by forbidding
entrance to sickness and plagues. The men capable of such supernatural
performances "own" animal spirits (nahuales) which help
them in their task. Mayordomos, on the contrary, can be men without
such powers, and do not need to belong to the select group
which deals with the supernatural outside the realms specified by
the Catholic Church.

000 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the 68 *Ayuntamiento* and *Mayordomías*
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of *cargos* (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the *cargo* of *Principal*, who
is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184
621 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
794 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a *curato* head town, or had a *convento* in the village), the *Mayordomías* and *Cofradías* (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the *Mayordomías* have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

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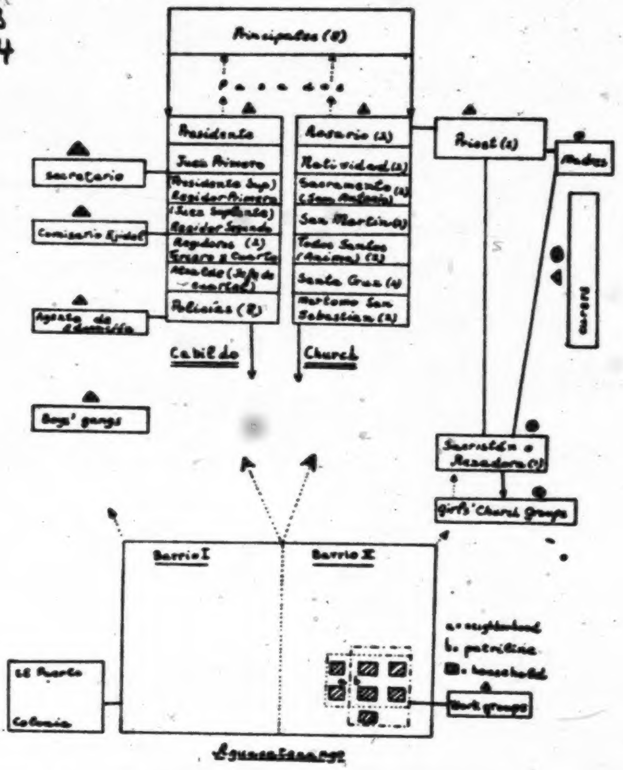
Principales (8)
Pasados
Presidente
Juez Primero
(Presidente Sup.) Regidor Primero
(Juez Suplente) Regidor Segundo
Regidores (2) Tercero y Cuarto
Alcalde (Jefe de cuartel)
Policías (8)
Rosario (2)
Natividad (2)
Sacramento (2) (San Antonio)
San Martin (2)
Todos Santos (Animas) (2)
Santa Cruz (4)
Martomo San Sebastian (2)
Priest (1)
Madres
secretario
Comisario Ejidal
Agente de Ademnición
Boys' gangs
Cabildo
Church
Sacristán o Rezadora (1)
Girls' Church Groups
Barrio I
Barrio II
a. neighborhood
b. patriline
▨. household
Work groups
El Puerto
Colonia
Aguacatenango

Fig. 2.--Hierarchy Structure in Aguacatenango

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793
•794

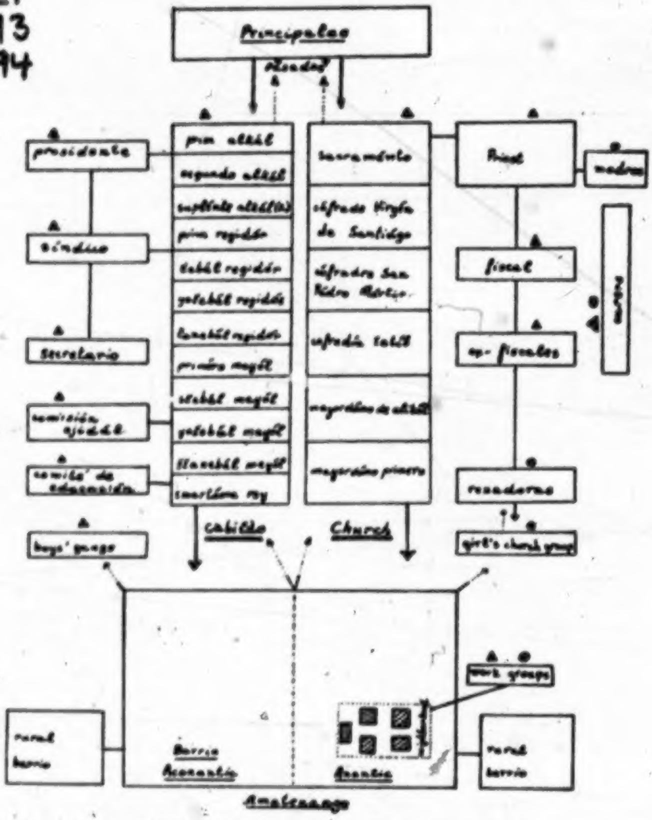
Principales
alcaldes
presidente
síndico
secretario
comisión ejidal
comité de educación
boys' groups
prim alkal
segundo alkal
suplente alcalde(s)
prim regidor
schebal regidor
yoshebal regidor
chanebal regidor
primero mayol
schebal mayol
yoshebal mayol
smarlómo
sacramentalo
alférez Virgen de Santiago
alférez San Pedro Mártir
alférez
mayordomo de alkal
mayordomo primero
Cabildo
Church
Priest
madres
fiscal
ex-fiscales
rezadoras
girl's church group
work groups
rural barrio
Barrio
rural barrio
Amatenango

Fig. 3.--Hierarchy Structure in Amatenango

621 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are
578
582 willing to risk the ire of the other *barrio* bachelors, nor the
gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own *barrio* mates.[1]

621 Each *barrio* plays a role in the political and religious
794 organization of the village by sending an approximately equal
number of officers to the *Ayuntamiento* and the *Mayordomías*. Although in some years there are more delegates from one *barrio*,
they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years.
[623] The *Principales* (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 *Escuadrilla* groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried
[573] women's Church groups are formed among *barrio* mates. Women, with
[575]
[312] few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their
barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally
came from the other *barrio*) and who do their washing at places in
[476] the river on their *barrio* side. Men who work together at such
tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing
an irrigation ditch belong to the same *barrio*. House parties
[527] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's
[123] day are *barrio* affairs, and no resident of the other *barrio* (with
[575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past,
there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the
Catholic Church, and each *barrio* had a separate one. There

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[581] [587] [1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the *barrio*. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across *barrio* lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other *barrio* men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own *barrio*, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
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573 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the *escuadrilla*
member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885
851 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
601 have the same root: *tat*), which allows him to take the lower
621 post in the government (*policía*). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
561
601 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by officers in lower and higher posts.

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621
● 794 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are *Mayordomos*), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

● [794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

736 613 423 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 592 796 794 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 613 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

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[177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been
178 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been
794 occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take
754 the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

178 • 794 754 [177] it is still functioning in the context of the witchcraft conflict. So, although the fact that the Alferez has disappeared as a post can be taken as a sign of acculturation, it is also a reflection of differential adjustment to internal conflict.

000 Witchcraft itself is a complex phenomenon. It reflects the economic domain, in the sense that witchcraft accusations are important sanctions applied to people who try to deviate from the economic standards of the community. It reflects the kinship domain, insofar as relational roles existing within the kinship frame, in which conflict is likely to occur, are likely targets for witchcraft talk and mutual accusations. It is a territorial domain phenomenon because spatial relations between people affect their social relations and the appearance of conflict: it is common, we have mentioned, that people living on the edges of town tend to be accused of witchcraft more often, and neighbors of the household are expected to be more prone to bewitch household members than people living further away. Finally, it is a psychological phenomenon, insofar as it reflects individual personalities and/or mental distress. Some people show extreme fear of it, and some people doubt its existence (there are agnostics in every society). Some curers, who are individuals with very unstable personalities, are even willing to denounce themselves as witches with the purpose of having others fear them or respect them. [754] [828] People whom we, in our culture, would consider mentally ill, are classified as witches in Aguacatenango and Amatenango.

On the one hand, it can be said that witchcraft is a residual category for the explanation of otherwise unexplainable

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

CHART 1 – CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

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Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinsipaletik)* First Principal *(Sba Krinsipal)* Second Principal *(Sčebal Krinsipal)* President *(Presirente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Síndico *(Sintikó)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alannantik *(Sba Alkal or Primeró Alkal)* Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik *(Sčebal Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bolibal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Magronal)*		Mayordomos *(Martomaetik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrarietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentó)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucía *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobraria Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobraria Sanpransiskó)* Elders *(Tatik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tatik Santiagó)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tatil Tatik Sanantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Meʔtik Rosarió)* Elder of San José *(Tatil Tatik Sanhosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Aliʔbal Kobrarietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Sakramentó)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Halal Meʔtik)* Junior Mayordomos *(NiPʔal Martomaetik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(NiPʔal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(NiPʔal Sanpransiskó)* Junior of Santiago *(NiPʔal Santiagó)* Junior of San Antonio *(NiPʔal Tatik Sanantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(NiPʔal Tatik Santiagó)* Junior of Rosario *(NiPʔal Meʔtik Rosarió)*
Regidores *(Rehiroletik)* First Regidor *(Primeró Rehirol)* Second Regidor *(Sčebal Rehirol)* Third Regidor *(Yoščebal Rehirol)* Fourth Regidor *(Sčanebal Rehirol)*	Alfereces *(Alpereseti̱k)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šal Pasaró)* Second Past *(Sčebal Pasaró)* New Alférez *(Aʔ Alperés)*	
Policemen *(Mayoletik)* 2 First Police *(Primeró Mayol)** 2 Second Police *(Sčebal Mayol)* 2 Third Police *(Yoščebal Mayol)* 2 Fourth Police *(Sčanebal Mayol)* 2 Last Police *(Spʔal Mayol)*		

*Also called [illegible].

[P. 212]

My ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make 121
explicit the steps in constructing the infor- 124
mant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzoʔontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in 124
Tzoʔontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *ķa-* 621*
biltu, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy
house or church. The question, "What are the kinds 693
of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following [794] ●
three categories: *alķaletiķ*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletiķ*, regidores; and *mayoletiķ*, mayores or police-
men. These categories are ranked relative to each 554
other; for example, *alķaletiķ* is of greater prestige 621*
(*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletiķ* next, and *mayole-* 693
tiķ least. Thus there are in the *alķaletiķ* category: *primero alķal*, first judge; *sčebal alķal*, second judge;
čeb suplente alķal, two assistant judges. In the *re-* 554
hiroletiķ category there are: *primero rehirol*, first 624
regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yoščebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor.
In the *mayoletiķ* category there are: *primero mayol*, 554
first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; 625
yoščebal mayol, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are 621*
two geographical divisions; these align officials ac- 693
cording to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahķ'olnantiķ*, and one from the lower division, *alannantiķ*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and
regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from [625]
each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the
barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the [554]
first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

In addition to this regular ladder
of officials representing the center and its close-lying 621*
barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural 693
settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and 632
Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder 622
of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintik̦u* 624
(in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices [124]
of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above.
These posts are occupied by younger men who are [191]
able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. [212]
Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to
those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such [423]
skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where
their authority was recognized at an early age. With [178]
improved literacy, the competition for such posts is [212]
increasing. Although informants say that the post of 622
president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, 621*
case materials do not bear this out. 114

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. 563
For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary 624
has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is 178
part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first 666
in a closed session in the townhall at which each official 621*
names his successor, followed by a mass meeting (*Komun K'op*) at which the names are read to
the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the 794
question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik̦*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik̦*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for [776]
the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *nič'anil* 794
martoma, and that the 15 mayordomos were further 776
ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamališ* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and
the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrarias* 794
were ranked in terms of the importance and expense 776
of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzoʔ- 554
ontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramentu)*, Virgin Santa

621*
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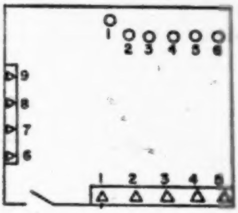

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nič'anil)*
MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Stutal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Ač' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Aksiʔetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Meʔtik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr 794
(Tatik Martil), and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. 776
There was complete agreement among the 554
three informants questioned regarding this rank
order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos [124]
in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piškal* (in 794
Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was
mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent [622]
in the past three years was serving as president
for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with [212]
the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *meʔeletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

[P 214-A]

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have 794
organized to help carry out the Mass and other
church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *ḳrinsipaletiḳ* or princi- 624
pales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in 554
the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church,"
until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The
response was, "Principales with the president." In
order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of princi-
pal, one must serve five times in the civil and six
times in the religious posts in the traditional hier-
archy. The principales provide continuity in the [182]
transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall
when the old officials depart to their homes, and pass-
ing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28,
31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day
administration of affairs. Although the incumbents 624
occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial 554
acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of 794
status in carrying out one of their most important
acts, the collection of contributions for the major
fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into
which the money is turned over by the police, and
this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were [453]
also bankers, holding the money until it was spent.
This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiv-
ing the money, now redefined as a sort of begging
operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious 794
wings is the group of officers known as the *alperese-*
tiḳ, alfereces. They are associated with the four major [776]
saints, who are also represented by the *ḳobrarias* of
Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San
Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the 794
importance of the saint, but by the order of entry into 554
office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father";
šil pasaro, remains past; *sč'ebal pasaro*, second past;
and *ʔač' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are
served in this order wherever they appear. Although 794
tied to a *č'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in 554
the townhall in bearing the banners there from the 62 *
church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they pro- 537
vide the post which is crucial for learning the set
speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the
patʔot'an, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial [624]
nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress
into the post of first or second regidor without having
passed through that of alferez. This post is the most 794
difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos 434
in one year of average expenditures, about half the 681

[P. 214-B]

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure 794
to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail [434]
sentence. On the following day, during a drinking [681]
session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials,
the reluctant nominee usually accepts. [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in 156
which he passed (*sḳ'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is 621*
the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then 554
as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, 693
he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage,
and then go on to second judge and finally become [794]
first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor.
After reaching the peak of his career as first
judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*.
Present leaders of the town consider this an [829]
"ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because
it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance.
Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in 624
civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be 693
considered free of further obligation. But now, because 178
of increasing population (according to informants),
this has been lowered to five required turns. 156
The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant
judge, which is now filled by a representative of
one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head 621*
is expected to alternate between the civil and religious 156
posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous 794
since they require only six months of service, from
the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of
June until January 6, and the men are on duty only
Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six
turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected,
prior to the reduction of the number of civil
posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career.
In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, [125]
passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken
in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over
70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and
religious office. Three who had passed as president
had served only once or twice in each wing of the
hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete
career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as 794
nič'anil ḳuč haʔ, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he 554
will pass as *ʔaliʔbal*, the assistant to the *ḳobraria*, particularly 156
charged with the slaughter of the bull for the
large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished
from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers,
but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

[P. 215-A)

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any 794
saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr 554
or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the 156
kobraria Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the
kobraria Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and reli- 621*
gious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking 554
system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior 794

561
178
601
574
796
621*
608
693

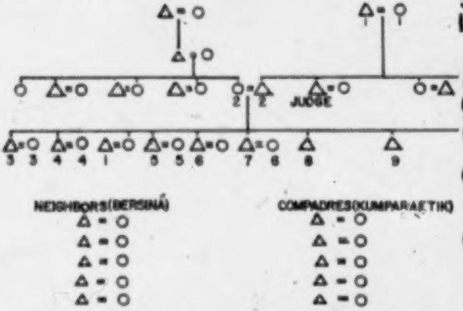

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

621*
titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nic' anil martoma*) 554
and in the use of *mas mamalii* (more senior) for 794
higher rank offices. 561

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is 178
that of a core of officeholders in three ranked seg-
ments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for 124
officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such 621*
as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer- 794
makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning 554
or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik̦*, 621*
or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's [592]
family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate [574]
the new official. Particularly conspicuous
because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in
the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors
from the outlying rancherías and colonias of
Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in 621*
two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. 574
Each new official entertains in his house the men he 592
has chosen as his *nak̦awanehetik̦* and as his *balnialetik̦*.
Only those *balnialetik̦* who are immediately related [602]
come to this gathering. The *meʔil k̦'op,* 'woman
speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik̦*
(Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine [353]
needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The
visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the
house at about eight in the evening and stay until the
liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to [273]
younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. [554]
The *nak̦awanehetik̦* are served, then the *nič'anil.*

The second household gathering takes place on the 621*
morning of the New Year. Major settings for such 574
gatherings are the house of the first judge and the 693
house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth
regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of [592]
the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The
two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first
judge's house. They join the president at his house
and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five
police from *ahk̦'olnantik̦* meet separately in the house
of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik̦*
meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, 621*
announcing with rockets to the policemen that they 693
have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in [202]
the formal address or *patʔot'an* as the *sik̦ na,* 'cold
house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k̦'a hu'eletik̦)* along [794]
with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two [554]
by two, the president and síndico first, followed by
the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the
judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and [788]
'measure their noses' *(sp'is sniʔik̦,)* as they enter, [794]
showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

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[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal. [197]

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

621*
794
182

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

621*
624
[273]

621*
554
693

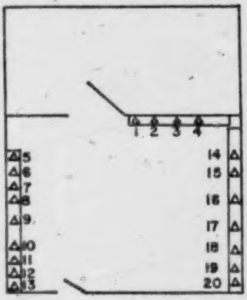


CHART 5—MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1	Nakawane
2	President
3, 4	Nakawane
5	First judge
6	Second judge
7	Síndico
8, 9	Assistant judges
10	First regidor
11	Second regidor
12	Third regidor
13	Fourth regidor
14-20	*Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

621*
624
[273]

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

621*
774
788

church where the same reverence is accorded to the 621*
church. The order of the procession following them 788
indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil* [794]
mayol, the last policeman, to the first and second
judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two 621*
788
554
693

621*
574
693

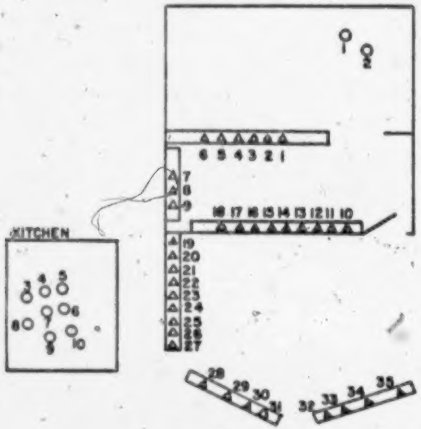


CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Meʔil k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Waneketik*

MEN (triangles):
1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that 621*
which was taken as they enter the church. There may 788
be some permissible variation here, since the elicited 693
version of the former president indicates that they 554
should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

[P. 218- A]

621*

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the 693
mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials 621*
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy fa-
ther townhall." There they spend the remainder of
the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new
president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *patʔotʼan*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the
round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *ḳobraria* of Halal meʔtik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas ḳantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(ḳomun weʔel);* second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sḳʼahḳʼalel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I ob-
served it in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Halal Meʔ-
tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *ḳobraria* did
not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(waḳaš naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *ḳobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *naḳawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ʔač martomaetiḳ)* (App. 2,

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which 794
they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before 796
the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to [537]
the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos
receive their candles is limited to the few words
of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing
over of the candles. There is no representation by the [621]*
civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation,
although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant
to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this
role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other
occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not
active during this changing of the religious officers.
Following the ceremony inside the church, the town [624]
treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money
passed over with each *ḳobraria*. Thus the "integration"
of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for
a church representation in civil affairs, but only in
a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *ḳobraria* Sakramentu. The *naḳawanehetiḳ* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanḳu*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

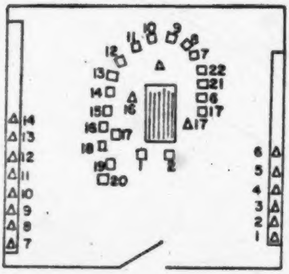
The behavior during the inauguration of civil offi- 621*
cials showed the following structural features. The 571
hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder 554
but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the 156
first session with the informant—*alḳaletiḳ*, *rehiroletiḳ*,
and *mayoletiḳ*—act in concert, move in unison,
and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1,
Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has
its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth,
physically denoted by the order in which they sit and
drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in
the first position of each category. They order their
group or the group immediately below them. Thus,
the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get
liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the
commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor
for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral
indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy,
ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive
office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age [561]
grading is absolute only between the segments, and is
roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder 794
and younger officials associated with each saint act 561 156

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

as a team. Thus the junior *(nič'anil)* and senior 794 ●
(tatil) officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior offi- 561
cials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil 156
officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became 621*
apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household 156
base establishing the officeholders' position in both 794
hierarchies. The new official learns his role obliga- 592
tions from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders [867]



621*
554
693
293

CHART 8 – INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in 621*
his period in office. The ceremony in the house estab- 156
lishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. 794
Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the 592
interlocking network of supporters in the setting of [867]
the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives 621*
are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. 794
Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of 592
the expenses and the commitment of time during the 602
period of office, the officials must have this backing to 156
fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres [608]
and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

The degree of integration of the civil and religious 621*
wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. 794 ●
The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural 182
feature.

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their [788]
noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to
the banners.

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the [778]
kobrarias, are present on the table in the townhall
as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church.

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately follow- [782]
ing their procession in the plaza to pray for health
to carry out their responsibilities.

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy 794
in the following acts: 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and [788]
incline their banners first before the townhall, then
before the church.

In the inauguration of the religious officials the 621*
only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hier- 794
archies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) 182
when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church
officials. The integration of the civil and religious [624]
wings in Tzoʔontahal is asymmetrical. The church
officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration.

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimen- 621*
sions of the civil and religious integration is found in 794
the replication of symbols and acts in each inaugura- 182
tion. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is 782
used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil 788
office has its counterpart in the candles handed over [641]
to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of [292]
the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs [293]
and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office.

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious
inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. 621*
Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, 794 •
the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obliga- 796
tions they are about to undertake from the words of 182
the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in 621*
the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, 794
the actors assert status in a social arrangement by 156
their position in a physical arrangement: seating 182
order clockwise from the door indicates rank order 571
in all settings. The same act has a different signifi- 554
cance in each setting. For example, drinking in the
townhall differs from drinking in the house because [273]
it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evi- 621*
dent in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: 794
religious officials are called "officials in the church" 182
(ʔaʔteletik te ta č'ulna) and civil officials are called 192
"officials in the townhall" *(ʔaʔteletik te ta č'ulna)*. If 156
my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corrob- 621*
orates some of the understandings gained from elicit- 794
ing the structure, but requires some modification. 182
The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evi- 156
denced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

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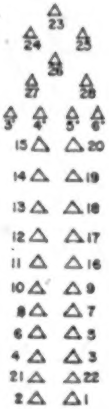
[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act. [114]

[P. 221-A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition 621*
of this segment to complement the civil and religious 794 •
structures so that we have a triadic set of officials— 182
civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic 156
set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor, 121



621*
794
788
533
554

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS;

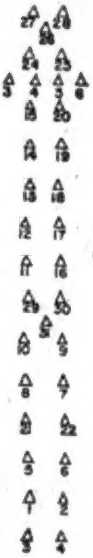
3'-6'	Alfereces
23	Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25	Firecracker lighters *(tomeie siˀbak̦)*
26	Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28	Drummers *(stihik̦ sk'ayobik̦)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods. 121

[P. 221-B)

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious 621*
hierarchy emphasize status and the functional 121
goal of community integration. What we have failed 794
to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the 554
divergences between expected and enacted patterns 178
of behavior in those occasions when the individual



621*
794
554
788
533

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

29, 30, 31	Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which consti- 621*
tute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have 121
micrometers to the measurement of change. The de- 794
tails of change may be small—for example, a shift in 554
the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be 178
a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the diver-
gences. An important supplement to these cues are 621*
the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes 124
178

[P 222-A]

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co- 621*
operative was harassed by the old group, since the 578
president did everything in his power to cut down 474
their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneu- 494
vered the appointment of the chief business agent of [875]
the new truck cooperative and three other members [622]
as *nič'anil martomaetik,* junior caretakers of the [794]
saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied
in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passen-
gers from Tzoʔontahal to Himšol, the neighboring
Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by 621*
winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario 665
Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee se- 666
cured over 185 signatures from townspeople; the op- 622
position candidate failed to get more than 28. Once 578
PRI support was obtained, the election on November
20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as
in the capital. This is the first election which has been
contested in 10 years. The last contest came when
some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became
members of the minor party, Partido Acción Na-
cional (PAN). Because this group and their presi-
dential candidate all came from one side of the dual
division, Alannantik, those from the other side said
that they should have a party representative. They
drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN
candidate won. The present contest was drawn on [474]
the basis of membership in the truck-owning coopera-
tives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. 666
Early in the running there were verbal threats on his 622
life. He had never passed in any office other than that 578
of president of the ejido commission, and although
the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to
office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least
have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposi- 666
tion to his candidacy developed. First in importance 622
was the original trucking cooperative, which objected 578
to the competition of the president and his faction 474
in the new cooperative. Second, these members 548
spread the rumor that the new president would bring
in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which
was becoming one of Tzoʔontahal's most important
economic self-development projects. Thus all the dis-
tillers were apprehensive of their future under his
term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

---

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the
score that the president had never passed in any other 666
public office. The only incident revealing the discon- 578
tent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the 622
president's brother following the house festival on
the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who 624
ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle 178
which centers on party membership and economic 624
competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is pre- 178
served as a link with the past as well as a sign of con- [794]
tinuity between old and new officials.

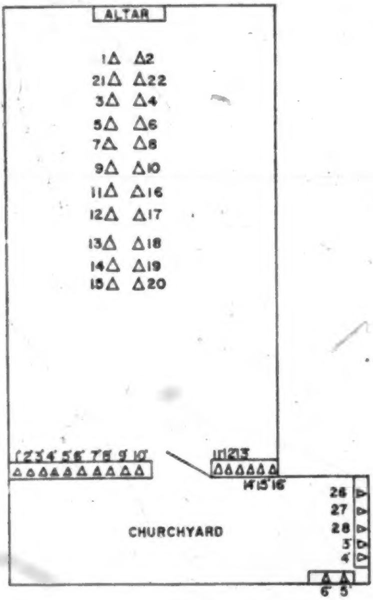


CHART 11 – NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos
Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

621*
794
554
346

In the inauguration of the religious officials, diver- 794
gence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 178
2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale 578
for the common meal from the churchyard to the
house of the *ʔaliʔbal* instead of in the churchyard [264]
(App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power strug-
gle going on in the church. When I questioned my [793]
informant about the disparity, he told me the follow- [273]
ing story:

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik̨* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik̨* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos. 794 793 578 178 273

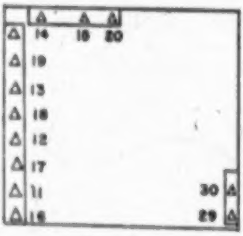


CHART 12 – KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʔital sk̨oip weʔeletik̨)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*. [124]

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *k̨obraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex- 000

[P. 224- A]

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the bene- 794
fits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The 793
priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing 178
control the "church" (he) has over the people. He [626]
maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed 621
accounts for the religious inauguration occurred 794
when the civil officials, including the town secretary 182
and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data 124
were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association 124
emerged in the formal eliciting procedure: 578

> Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his 682
> brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Meʔtik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(haʔ ben boliḳ)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com- 124

[P. 224-B]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzoʔontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796
794 ●
608
554

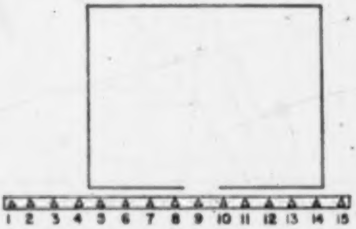


Chart 13 – HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

Officials:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Meʔtiḳ)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yuʔun Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Saḳramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Aliʔbal Nič'nal yuʔun Halal Meʔtiḳ)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yuʔun Tatiḳ Sanpransisḳú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yuʔun Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Meʔtiḳ Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yuʔun Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yuʔun Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nič'nal yuʔun Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nič'pal yuʔun Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nič'nal yuʔun Meʔtiḳ Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nič'nal yuʔun Sanpransisḳú)*

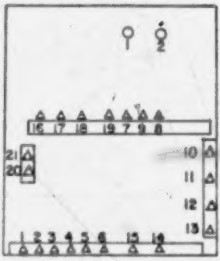
Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

621*
105
794
178
18
[128]

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-



796
794
608
554
533

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Meˀil K'op*
2 *Sčebal smeˀ*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentú*)
17 First Nakawane (*Sba Nakawane*)
18 Second Nakawane (*Sčebal Nakawane*)
19 Third Nakawane (*Yošebal Nakawane*)
20, 21 Guitarist (*Balnial Alpultero*)

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621*
105
794
178
18

[p.227-A]

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 621*
19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be 105
seen in the presence of both old and new officials in 794
the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge 178
acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). 18
Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity
are the principales, who await the arrival of [624]
the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28)
who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q.
31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the
return of the new officials, when they have gone to
church.

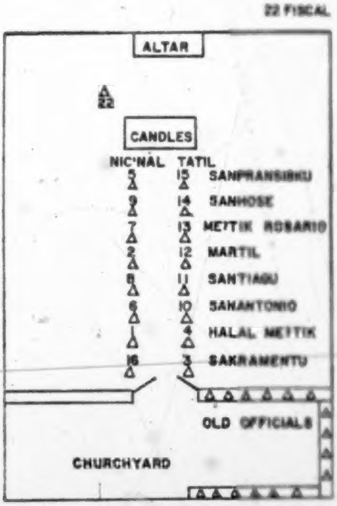
2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of 621*
closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior 105
set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot 794
rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity 178
as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions 18
of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement 156
from the preexisting network of obligations and 554
a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons,
1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian,
1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in [576]
the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect
term) in both address and reference. The reference [293]
to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of
the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App.
1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging
an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority
on which the role is based. The effectiveness [691]
of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior
affective commitments can partially be judged in that
most dispute cases are brought before the local courts
rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that
the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting
in which the individual who is about to assume
office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962,
p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is
acquired most importantly in the home from the
speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App.
1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the
directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting
(App. 2, Q. 39, observation). 621*

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* 105
The new status of the officeholders is made 794
[P. 227-8] 178
18
788

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, 621*
Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church spe- 105
cifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). 794
There is less public display of new officeholders in the 178
case of the religious officials than in the case of civil 18
officials. [788]

The morphological description of the structure of 105
a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior 121
as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro- 182
554
571


22 FISCAL
ALTAR
22
CANDLES
NIC'NAL
TATIL
5
9
7
2
8
6
1
16
15 SANFRANSISKU
14 SANHOSE
13 METˀTIK ROSARIO
12 MARTIL
11 SANTIAGU
10 SANANTONIO
4 HALAL METˀTIK
3 SAKRAMENTU
OLD OFFICIALS
CHURCHYARD

794
796
554
346

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

105
vide the basis for describing the physiology of a cul- 121
ture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in 182
carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the house- 554
hold emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an 571
important ritual domain supporting the civil and re-
ligious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical rela- 621*
tion between the role of religious officials in the civil 105
inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious 182
[P. 228-A) 794
[592]
[571]
[554]

621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 571
tural and functional statements are made should pro- 121
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *ʔaliʔbal's* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875] [53[illegible]]				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 [illegible] 796 [538] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then sindico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[624] [782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

[P 235]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#621 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#621 124	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
794 796	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya ʔil)* in the townhall		
#621 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[539] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patheyoʔtʼan* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʼalʼ presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ʼalʼ alkaletik)*"		
#621 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
273 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

Appendix 2—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE HOLY HOUSE

	Question	Informant 3	Observation
● 794 796	1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero,* 'Making the candles'	
124	2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533]	3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
	4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
	5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
	6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824]	7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
	8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
	9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
	10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
	11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
	12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
	13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
	14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796	15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(yaʔalik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
273 124	16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(skoʔip weʔeletik)*	
	17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*	
	18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *ʔaliʔbal*
[273] [260]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam kox)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *ʔaliʔbal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wišpereš	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nakawaneketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

794
796
124
539

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *meʔel tatei*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo, God thank mother and father *(meʔa ta tatʔa)* mam kobraria	
38. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the Tatil Sanpedro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobraria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobraria say then?	Do not drink much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(ƚak ʔalel likkel)*. I do not want you to say the kobraria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud our soil	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
794 796 124 46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobraria of Sacramento?		First to the two *balnials*. Then to the third *nakawane*. Then to the second *nakawane*. Then to the first *nakawane*
47. What do they say after the *sak'inal*?		The kobraria of *Halal meʔetik* gives the *spat yoʔt'an* with the first *nakawané*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yoʔt'an*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(meʔƚukasail)* who is the *meʔil k'op* in the house

794 796 124	49. Who is the woman speaker?	She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria
	50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?	Two or three sisters of the kobraria
	51. What do his sisters *(yermanotaḳ)* do inside his house?	They sit on the bench on the porch
	52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *meʔč'uḳašailetiḳ?*	They sit on the bench on the porch
	53. What does the *naḳawane* do?	He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash
	54. What do they give after the mouthwash?	First the coffee with the bean tortillas
	55. What do they give after the coffee?	They give another mouthwash
	56. What do the *balnialetiḳ* do after the mouthwash?	They take out the table with the cloth
[273]	57. What do they do then?	They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water
	58. Who orders the women inside?	*Meʔč'uḳašail*
	59. What do they do before they begin to drink?	The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatbe yoʔtan* He rises to ask permission before the *meʔč'uḳašailetiḳ,* all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetiḳ*
[539]	60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then?	God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' *(meʔtiḳtatiḳ).* God speaks, *tat naḳawanehetiḳ* and *balnialetiḳ*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *meʔtiḳtatiḳ*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *meʔeš tateš*
	61. What do they do then?	The mayordomos, *balnialetiḳ* and *naḳawanetiḳ* measure their noses.
	62. What does the *meʔč'uḳašail* say?	God thank Mamal Tat
	63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say?	He gives the benediction to the liquor
[539]	64. What is the benediction?	In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]		did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[273] 65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal naķawanehetiķ*
66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539] 68. What does the *naķawane* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tátiķ* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanbetiķ* to the mamal old kobraria
69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[533] 70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
71. How do they take the *huramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nik'anil* in front of *tatiķ* Jesus Christ.
72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796 124	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
[273]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk̨'ahk̨'alel?*		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(nic̓'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk̨'an smahanik̨ yuʔun yaʔbe sol yuʔun sk̨'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *patʔot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *patʔoʔtan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[273]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'AʔTEL,* new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK,* wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK,* house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
192 554 [593]		*AʔTELETIK* *ALKALETIK* *REHIROLETIK,* judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]		*BALNIALETIK,* assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[574]		*YULATAK,* visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yoščebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK,* old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[994]		*ʔALPERESETIK,* alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

*621 105 192	*KRINSIPALETIK,* principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
554	*ʔAČʔAʔTELETIK,* new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM,* Village (people) *Spisil Meʔeletik,* all the women *Spisil Winketik,* all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*ʔACʔAʔTELETIK,* new officials		Make two turns in procession
● [794]	*ʔALPERESETIK,* alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK,* mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʔAČʔ AʔTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʔAČʔ AʔTELETIK,* new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794
[574]
[604]
[605]
[593]
[608]
[602]
[608]

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at *first* seat on outside wall near door
	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ʔAČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos